



ARMENIA MARITIMA: THE HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF CILICIA

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The territory historically known as Cilicia lies at the northeastern corner of the Mediterranean Sea. Of all the lands that border upon Armenia proper, none has figured so greatly in Armenian history. The Greeks, Romans, and ancient Armenians called the region Kilikia, pronounced Giligia in Western Armenian. The name probably originated in one of the local Anatolian languages that Greek eventually displaced. In Ottoman times, most of the eastern territories of the medieval kingdom of Cilician Armenia formed the *vilayet* or province of Adana.¹ The Romans viewed Cilicia as consisting of two parts: Cilicia Campestris (Plain; Greek: Kilikia Pedias), the lowland along the Mediterranean, and Cilicia Aspera (Rugged; Greek: Kilikia Trakheia), the highlands

¹ For primary sources on Cilicia, see Anania Shirakatsi, *Ashkharatsoyts* [Geography], in Ashot G. Abrahamyan and Garegin B. Petrosyan, eds., *Anania Shirakatsu matenagrutyune* [The Works of Ananias of Shirak] (Erevan: Sovetakan Grogh, 1979), pp. 258-312; trans. Robert H. Hewsen, *The Geography of Ananias of Širak* (Wiesbaden: Ludwig Reichert, 1992); Edouard Dulaurier, ed., *Recueil des historiens des croisades: Documents arméniens*, 2 vols. (Paris: Imp. Nationale, 1869-1906); Georgius of Cyprus, *Descriptio orbis romani*, ed. Heinrich Gelzer (Leipzig: B.G. Teubner, 1890); Kirakos Gandzaketsi, *Patmutyun Hayots* [History of Armenia], ed. Karapet A. Melik-Ohanjanyan (Erevan: Armenian Academy of Sciences, 1961), trans. Marie-Félicité Brosset, *Deux historiens arméniens: Kirakos de Gantzac, XIII^e s., Histoire d'Arménie; Oukhtanès d'Ourha, X^e s.* (St. Petersburg: Academy of Sciences, 1870-1871); Matteos Urhayatsi [Matthew of Edessa], *Zhamanagrutyun* [Chronicle], ed. Hrach Bartikyan (Erevan: Hayastan, 1973); trans. Ara E. Dostourian, *Armenia and the Crusades 10th to 12th Centuries: The Chronicle of Matthew of Edessa* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1993); Pliny, *Natural History*, ed. Loeb Classical Library; Procopius, *The Buildings*, ed. Loeb Classical Library; idem, *The Histories*, ed. Loeb Classical Library; Ptolemy, *Geography*, ed. Karl F.A. Nobbe (Leipzig: Tauschnitz, 1843-1845; repr. Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1966); Strabo, *Geography*, ed. Loeb Classical Library.

of the Taurus Mountains to the north.² In Ottoman times, the vilayet of Adana encompassed most of both parts, while eastern sector was attached to the vilayet of Aleppo. Although not among the traditional six "Turkish Armenian" provinces, Adana, with its historic links to the Cilician Armenian kingdom and its large Armenian population, loomed important in the thought of Armenian nationalists, and briefly after World War I there was the prospect that the region would become an Armenian national home or hearth (*ojakh*) under French protection.³

In the *Ashkharhatsoys* (Geography) attributed to the seventh-century savant, Ananias of Shirak, Cilician Armenia is described as follows:

Cilicia is between Syria and Cappadocia. It has [several] districts, and castles, and many rivers and springs [besides] game—the bear, leopard, hind, horned deer, wild sheep, gazelle . . . as well as birds such as the peacock, francolin, partridge, [*tetra francolinus*], bustard, stork, falcon and quail. It has fruits—the apple, pear, plum, apricot, mandarin orange [*citrus vulgaris*], and lemon. It has iron and salt, cotton and silk, vitriol and sulphur, mineral waters and saltpeter, and [both] black and white pitch. Its capitals are Tarsus and Sis . . . , and [there is] Ayas, the harbor for many ships.

Here also are found plantain oil, Spanish chestnuts, rye, melons, the willow tree, saffron, the rose, myrtle and violet; the locust, olive, sumac, almond and date; the hazelnut, royal walnut, fig, pomegranate, blackthorn, mint, watermelons, fine muskmelons, snake cucumber, quince, jujube, chestnut, forest cornel berries, cinnabar from the pine tree, [and] other good things for which glory to the Lord God, the grantor of these innumerable things, amen.⁴

² Hakob Manandian, *Tigran II et Rome* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1963), p. 45. Tauros, which means bull in Greek, is probably derived from Syrian *tor* which means mountain. The Armenians usually call the range the Tavros, but at least one source translates the Greek name into Armenian as *tsul* or bull. P'awstos Buzand, *The Epic Histories attributed to P'awstos Buzand (Buzandaran patmut' iwnk')*, trans. Nina G. Garsoïan (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989), III.xiv.

³ See Guévork Gotikian, "La Légion d'Orient et le mandat français en Cilicie (1916-1921)," in Raymond H. Kévorkian, ed., *La Cilicie (1909-1921) des massacres d'Adana au mandat français*, as vol. 3 of *Revue d'histoire arménienne contemporaine* (Paris: Bibliothèque Noubat, 1999), pp. 251-324.

⁴ For annotations to this text, see Hewsen, *Geography*, pp. 322-24.

Ancient Cilicia

Cilicia first appears in Egyptian records as Kedi or Kode as early as the thirteenth century B.C.⁵ and then in Akkadian records as the land of Hillaku or Que more than 800 years before Christ.⁶ Even in this remote period, the region of Cilicia seems to have had some vague Armenian connection. Here lived an Indo-European-speaking people known as the Luvians, believed to represent an early component of the Armenian people.⁷ Cilicia became a part of the Persian Achaemenid Empire in the sixth century B.C. as the province of Killakku, separated from Armenia by the Euphrates River.⁸ Alexander the Great occupied the region as he passed through the Cilician Gates,⁹ and his successors of the Seleucid dynasty of Syria disputed it with the Egyptian Ptolemy until it was taken by Romans in 63 B.C. During this period the great Armenian king and conqueror, Tigran II (95-55 B.C.), annexed Cilicia to his short-lived empire. In the war between Julius Caesar and Pompey, the Cilicians supported Pompey and supplied him with a large number of troops.¹⁰

The Romans, who viewed Cilicia as a primitive backwater, subdued the mountaineers of the region and, led by Pompey and then by Julius Caesar, attempted to clear its waters of the notorious pirates who controlled its shores.¹¹ Essentially a tribal soci-

⁵ A.H.M. Jones, *Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces*, 2d ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), p. 192.

⁶ Igor M. Diakonov, *Predistoria armianskogo naroda* (Erevan: Armenian Academy of Sciences, 1968), pp. 135, 155, 166, 180 and Map 1; trans. Lori Jennings, *Pre-History of the Armenian People* (Delmar, NY: Caravan, 1984).

⁷ Ibid., Map 3. At the village of Emir Haci (Haji), inland directly west of Silifke, are the ruins of a castle now called Maydancik Kale, dating from the time of the Hittite king, Mutwattali, circa 1300 B.C. See Bernard McDonagh, *Blue Guide Turkey* (London: A&C Black; New York: W.W. Norton, 1995), p. 452. Hittite dates are linked to the chronology of ancient Egypt, but this latter chronology is far from clear. The Hittites, as well as all of the peoples and events associated with them, may date from a much later period.

⁸ Herodotus, *The Histories*, ed. Loeb Classical library, V.52. A Persian palace, perhaps that of the local satrap, has been found at Emir Haci. McDonagh, *Blue Guide*, note 5.

⁹ On Alexander the Great in Cilicia, see Claude Mutaftian, *La Cilicie au carrefour des empires*, 2 vols. (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1988), vol. 1, pp. 133-34.

¹⁰ Jones, *Cities*, p. 198; Manandian, *Tigran II et Rome*, p. 48.

¹¹ For the Roman campaigns against the Cilician pirates, see Mutaftian, *La Cilicie*,

ety, a dynasty emerged in Cilicia in the first century B.C. under a certain Tarcondimotus, an adventurer who united most of the Cilician tribes. The Romans recognized him as king of Cilicia, but his short-lived dynasty petered out as a result of Roman policies. Cilicia became a Roman province by the end of the Roman Republic, and the famed orator Cicero served as proconsul there briefly beginning in 51 B.C.¹²

Under Roman rule a number of important cities developed in the coastal regions, including Adana, Anazarba, and Tarsus, to which Cleopatra sailed to meet her lover Marc Antony and where a few decades later St. Paul was born.¹³ Some Cilician cities even issued their own coinage in the Roman period—for example, Alexandretta (Iskenderun), Rhosus (Arsuz), Aegae (Ayas, now Yumurtalik), Hieropolis or Castabala (Bodrum), Anazarba (now in ruins), Mopsuestia (Misis), Seleucia-on-the Calycadus (Silifke), Corycus or Korykus (Kizkalesi), Adana, and Tarsus (the latter two have preserved their original names).

In the mountains, Cibyra, too, issued local coinage, but not Olba/Diocaesaria (Uzuncabur) despite its being the site of an important shrine dedicated to Zeus. The towns of Comana (Shar), Arabissus (Afsin), and Germanike (Marash), all within the Cilician kingdom in the Middle Ages at one time or another, were not considered Cilician cities in Roman times but belonged rather to the province of Cappadocia. Two towns in the mountains that were distinguished enough to have received imperial names were Flaviopolis, which may be Sis, and Irenopolis, which may be Vahka.¹⁴

From the Taurus Mountains a number of rivers flow down to

pp. 217-28.

¹² Richard D. Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty and Rome, 100-30 B.C.* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990), pp. 185-92; Ronald Syme, *Anatolica*, ed. Anthony Birley (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), ch. 14; Mutaftian, *La Cilicie*, pp. 217-21. Cilicia became a single province of Rome and remained undivided until the time of Diocletian (284-305). See David Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1950), pp. 281-301, 375-76.

¹³ Magie, *Roman Rule*, p. 390. Paul described himself (Acts: 21.39) as a Jew, from Tarsus in Cilicia, a citizen of no ordinary city. On St. Paul's association with and activities in Cilicia, see Mutaftian, *La Cilicie*, vol. 1, pp. 211-13.

¹⁴ Mutaftian, *La Cilicie*, vol. 1, pp. 206-07; Magie, *Roman Rule*, pp. 249ff., 266-77, and ch. 12; Jones, *Cities*, pp. 205, 434-40.

the Mediterranean Sea. The largest of these is the Sarus (now Seyhan) and the Pyramos (now Jeyhan or Ceyhan). Other rivers of Cilicia include, for example, the Cydnos (Tarsus), Lamus (Lamas), Melus (Alata), and Carmalos (Yeniye), the last two being tributaries of the Sarus.¹⁵ Relative newcomers to the region, the Armenians called these rivers by their Greek names in the period of the Cilician kingdom: Saros, Piuramos, and Lamos.¹⁶

Early Medieval Cilicia

As the Roman Empire declined in the fourth century and its eastern half evolved into the Byzantine Empire, the mountainous region of Cilicia Trachia was assigned by Diocletian (284-305) to the province of Isauria, while the remainder was later (circa 400) divided into two provinces: Cilicia I with its capital at Tarsus, and Cilicia II centered at Anazarbus. This arrangement lasted until 703 when the Arabs conquered Cilicia. Thereafter, the Byzantines and the Arabs repeatedly fought over the region, and the former reasserted its control in 965. Finding it abandoned by the Muslims, however, the Byzantines immediately began to repopulate the area with large numbers of Armenians brought in from the eastern territories.¹⁷

When the Seljuk Turks swept through Armenia and eastern Anatolia in 1071 driving out the Byzantines, they bypassed the Taurus Mountains, leaving Cilicia isolated. Armenians in large numbers fled the Seljuks across the range for refuge among the local Armenians to the south, where they founded several tiny principalities prior to the coming of the Crusaders in 1097.¹⁸ The formation of what may be called an Armenia in exile was also preceded by an extremely complex period during which a number of Byzantine officials of Armenian origin and a few Armenian adventurers scrambled to set up petty states for themselves.

¹⁵ Robert H. Hewsen, *Armenia: A Historical Atlas* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001), maps 119, 124, 184.

¹⁶ *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), vol. 1, p. 462.

¹⁷ Ibid.; Robert W. Edwards, *The Fortifications of Armenian Cilicia* (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 1987), pp. 4-5.

¹⁸ Hewsen, *Atlas*, Map 117.

The Curopalatate of Philaretos

The first movement toward the creation of an actual Armenian state in Cilicia following the Seljuk invasions was undertaken by Philaretos Brakhamios (Varazhnuni), Byzantine commander of Melitene (Malatia) and Germanikeia (Marash) for the emperor Romanos IV Diogenes (1068-71). Unwilling to recognize Michael VII Ducas (1071-78) as emperor, Philaretos set himself up as an independent ruler at Germanikeia, where he ruled until 1085. From there he appointed vassals to rule at Melitene, one of whom, Basil captured Edessa in 1077. An Armenian, Basil ruled this great city for four years. Philaretos also sought to extend his rule in Antioch, where another Armenian noble, Vasak, had reigned until being assassinated in 1080.

Shortly after Philaretos assumed power, the Artsrunids (Artsrunis), who were established at Tarsus by the Byzantines, and the Hetumians (Hetumids), who were newly settled at Lambron, accepted his suzerainty. Avoiding the error of becoming overconfident, Philaretos wisely came to terms with the Byzantine emperor Nicephoros III Botaneiates (1078-81) and was rewarded with the title of *curopalate* in recognition of his status. His early successes did not endure, however, and before he could found a dynasty, the Seljuks seized Antioch (1085), while the newly-arrived Frankish Crusader, Baldwin of Boulogne, ousted the Armenian governor of Edessa and established himself there as count. Thereafter, Philaretos' state disintegrated. The Danishmendid Turks seized Melitene, while the Franks gained control over Germanikeia and Kaysun-Raban in 1104 and 1116, respectively. Baldwin granted Samosata, along with Tell-Bashar (Frankish: Turbessel) and Rawandan (Ravendel), to Jocelin Sire de Courtenay as a fiefdom in 1102.¹⁹

The Rule of Kogh Vasil, Basil the Brigand

In the confusion of the Crusader scramble for lands, individual Armenian princes, originally subalterns of Philaretos, such as

¹⁹ Ibid., pp. 136, 138.

Kogh Vasil or Basil the Brigand, ruler of Kaysun, Duluk, Raban, and Rum Kale—along with other rulers in Babula (the ancient fortress of Barsalium of the Roman limes), Kahta, and Hisn Mansur—emerged on the scene to seize what territory they could. Kogh Vasil's brother Bagrat (Greek: Pankrake) who, having met the leaders of the First Crusade at Nicaea after they had crossed into Asia Minor from Constantinople (1097), accompanied them on their trek to Syria. Bagrat became a close friend and adviser of the Frankish leader Baldwin. Kogh Vasil ruled from Kaysun, restored its fortifications, and built a palace. Nearby, he established an Armenian monastery at Duluk, a town otherwise in decline, its local functions gradually being assumed by Aintab, which emerged as a great Armenian center centuries later. Kogh Vasil also captured Hisn Mansur, which along with Kahta formed his second principality, and soon thereafter Gerger and Babula his third. The inhabitants of these lands now ruled by Armenian princes appear to have been Syrian. There were Syrian monasteries in the area (for example, Tiginkar and Barsauma) and Syrian bishops as in Gerger. For five years in the 1130s, Kaysun served as the residence of the Syrian Orthodox patriarch recently transferred from Amid. After Kogh Vasil's death, the Crusaders annexed his state in 1116. The Armenians controlled Cilicia proper, while northern Syria for the remainder of the Crusader period remained under Frankish rule.²⁰

The Barony of Cilician Armenia

The Crusaders viewed the Armenian princes in Cilicia as natural allies and recognized their state as the barony of Lesser Armenia (Little Armenia; Petite Arménie), referred to by historians as Cilician Armenia (French: Arméno-Cilicie or l'Arménie cilicienne). The Armenian princes of old and emerging houses such as the Artsruni (Artsrunid), the Rubenian (Rubenid), and the Hetumian (Hetumid) managed to erect a new state for themselves.²¹ As

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Ghevond Alichan, *Sissouan ou Arméno-Cilicie* (Venice: Mekhitarist Press, 1899); Claude Mutafian, *Le Royaume arménien de Cilicie: XI^e-XIV^e siècle* (Paris: CNRS Editions, 1993). The term *Sissouan*, based on the name of the medieval Cilician capital, Sis, has not gained currency.

Cyril Toumanoff has noted, this Armenia in exile, although an artificial creation, was no more so than the Crusader states founded in the Levant at the same time, and Cilician Armenia managed to survive them all.²²

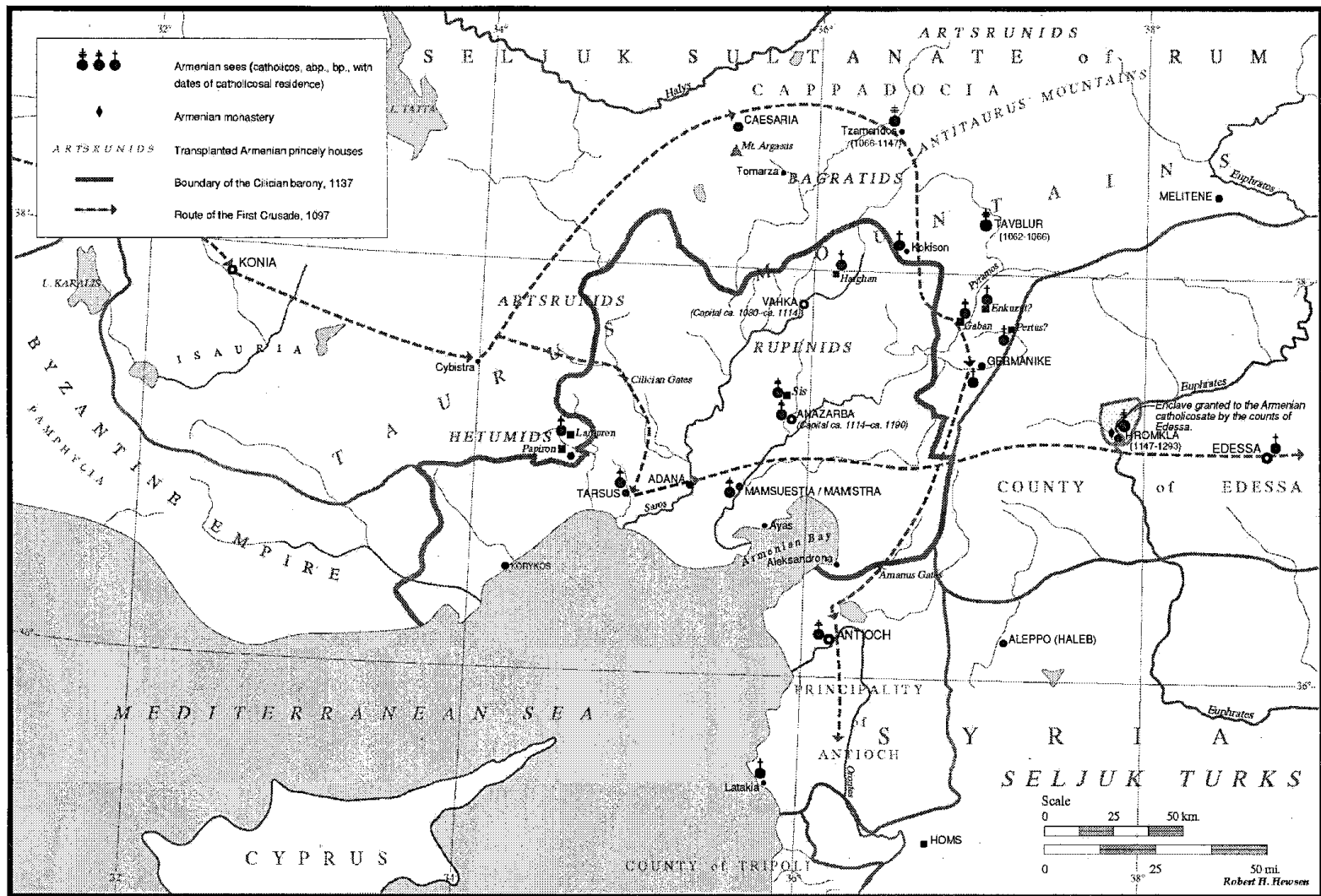
Ultimately, two rival houses came to dominate Cilician Armenia during its first decades: the Rubenians, originally settled at Bardzrberd but later at Vahka, both lying in the mountains in the northeast; and the Hetumians, settled at the castles of Barberon and Lambron in the west. The Rubenians attempted to control the Taurus passes to protect themselves from the Seljuk Turks to the north, and also the Amanus passes to their east to guard against the Crusaders at Antioch. The Hetumians, closer to the empire, remained faithful vassals of Byzantium, which in the early days of the Cilician kingdom proved to be the greatest threat to the existence of the new state. The Byzantines took and retook the Cilician lowlands until the Armenians of the mountain recognized the emperor's suzerainty, only to reassert their independence as soon as possible.²³

Begun under the noble Ruben (d. 1095), this new Armenia became known as the barony of Cilician Armenia.²⁴ The Rubenians nurtured their state during its delicate formative period, and Ruben's son, Constantine I (1095-1102), expanded its domain at both Byzantine and Muslim expense. Furthermore, the Rubenians wisely overcame the initial friction and cultural differences with the Crusaders, as both felt threatened by the Muslims and Byzantines. The close identification of the Armenians with Christian Europe and the warm reception and material aid the local Armenian population gave (guides, interpreters, and suppliers of necessities) to the Crusaders, all gradually led to an Armenian-Crusader entente. This eventually brought about an Armeno-Franco-Latin cultural synthesis that was heightened by intermarriages between

²² On the Armenian nobility, see Cyril Toumanoff, *Studies in Christian Caucasian History* (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 1963).

²³ Cyril Toumanoff, "Armenia and Georgia," in *The Cambridge Mediaeval History*, vol. 4: *The Byzantine Empire*, pt. 1, *Byzantium and Its Neighbors*, ed. Joan M. Hussey, 2d ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1966), pp. 629, 633.

²⁴ For the use of the term *baron* in this period, see Toumanoff, "Armenia and Georgia," p. 632n1. For a Turkish view of the barony of Cilicia, see Mehlika A. Kaşgarlı, *Kilikya tâbi ermeni baronluğu tarihi* [The History of the Armenian Vassal Barony of Cilicia] (Ankara: Proses, 1990).



The Barony of Cilician Armenia

their noble families.²⁵

The Kingdom of Cilician Armenia

Prince Ruben III (1175-87) abdicated the throne in 1187 to enter a monastery, passing the throne on to his brother Prince Levon (Leo; Leon) II (1187-1219). The accession of Levon coincided with a period of dynastic rivalries both among the Byzantine emperors and the Seljuks of Rum (Konia), while the military campaigns of the Fatimid sultan of Egypt, Saladin (1169-93), brought the Crusader states close to total ruin. Moving to profit from the weaknesses of these powers that formerly threatened his state, Levon granted trading concessions to the Genoese and the Venetians, as a result of which the Cilician port of Ayas became for a time the foremost trade emporium in the eastern Mediterranean.²⁶ Indeed, under Levon the Cilician state experienced some of its greatest developments. He skillfully curbed the power of the great lords, acquired the eastern Cilician fortresses of Lambron and Lulu, and courted the Roman Catholic Church with vague offers of acceptance of the primacy of the pope.

These maneuvers culminated in the joint coronation of Prince Levon II as King Levon I of Armenia on January 6, 1197, by Catholicos Gregory VI Apirat and the papal legate Cardinal Konrad of Wittelsbach in the Cathedral of the Holy Wisdom at Tarsus. The coronation ceremony, attended by the Armenian nobles of Cilicia, the Syrian Jacobite patriarch, the Greek metropolitan of Tarsus, and many Greek and Frankish dignitaries, marked the recognition of Cilician Armenia as a sovereign kingdom.

The Holy Roman Emperor, Henry VI, sent a royal insignia,

²⁵ Gérard Dédéyan and Nicole Thierry, "Le temps de la Croisade," in Gérard Dédéyan, *Histoire des Arméniens* (Toulouse: Privat, 1982), pp. 308-10. For the Cilician Armenian intermarriages with the Crusader dynasties, see Wipertus H. Rüdiger-Collenberg, *The Rupenides, Hethumides and Lusignans: The Structure of the Armeno-Cilician Dynasties* (Lisbon: Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation; and Paris: Klincksieck, 1963).

²⁶ See Ghewond Alishan, *Léon le Magnifique, premier roi de Sissouan, ou de l'Arménocilie* (Venice: Mekhitarist Press, 1888).

and the Byzantine emperor followed by sending a crown.²⁷

King Levon I, known as the Great or the Magnificent, died in 1219 without a legitimate male heir, and the throne passed on, not without a certain opposition, to his daughter Zabel (Isabel), the first queen in Armenian history to have reigned in her own right since Erato at the end of the Artashesian (Artashesid) dynasty twelve centuries earlier. Real power, however, lay in the hands of a regent, Constantine of the House of Lambron, who arranged for the reluctant queen to marry his son Hetum (1226). This move, which joined the Rubenians and Hetumians, ended at long last the enmity between the two most important houses of the realm.²⁸ The emergence of the Armenian state in Cilicia, a considerable distance from the historic Armenian homeland, required adjustments in traditional social structure and institutions to the local conditions.

The Armenian Church in Cilicia

Reinvigorated by the emergence of this new Armenia, the Catholicosate of the Armenian Church, one of the most important Armenian institutions, soon moved its seat to the fortress-monastery of Hromkla on the right bank of the Euphrates (1147-1293) and then to Cilicia proper, where it settled at the capital of Sis in 1293 and where there would be a catholicos in residence until 1915.²⁹ The church flourished in Cilicia and rapidly expanded its administration. Armenian bishops attended various

²⁷ A list of the Armenian barons and bishops who attended the coronation, with their castles and sees, has survived. For the list of barons, see Edwards, *Fortifications*, Appendix 3, pp. 279-80; for the list of Armenian ecclesiastics (archbishops and bishops), see Smbat Sparapet [Smbat the Constable], *Taregirk* [Chronicle], ed. M. Agelian (Venice: Mekhitarist Press, 1956), pp. 209-10; trans. Gérard Dédéyan, *La Chronique attribuée au connétable Smbat* (Paris: P. Geuthner, 1980), pp. 73-80.

²⁸ On the marriage of Zabel, see Toumanoff, "Armenia and Georgia," p. 633.

²⁹ Maghakia Ormanian, *The Church of Armenia*, 2d ed. (London: Mowbray, 1910; 2d rev. ed., New York: St. Vartan Press, 1955), p. 44. For a list of the Armenian catholicoses of Cilicia, see Amine Jules Iskandar, *La nouvelle Cilicie: Les Arméniens du Liban* (Antelias: Catholicosate of Cilicia, 1999). Iskandar begins the list of Cilician catholicoses with Karapet of Tokat (1446-77), after the catholicosal see was transferred from Sis back to Echmiadzin in 1441. The Cilician Catholicosate continued to exist as a separate see until 1651, when it was reconciled with Echmiadzin but retained the catholicosal title.

church councils convened in Cilicia. The episcopal sees in the kingdom, as listed at the time of Levon's coronation in 1199, consisted of six archbishops (Mamsuestia, Kapan, Sis, Anazarba, Lambron and Tarsus)—excluding those visiting from Jerusalem and Antioch—and seven bishops (at Metskar, Sanvilank, Andriasank, Hohnank, Berdus, Enkuzut, and Pillipposeank), the last of whom probably represented the monastery of that name located on the Black Mountain (Sev Ler) in the extreme southeast of Cilicia.³⁰ The custom of assigning prelates to the courts of the princes appears to have markedly declined in Cilicia. Of the thirteen Cilician prelates, without exception every archbishop or bishop was also the abbot of the monastery where he dwelled. Even the catholicos resided at a monastery rather than in a town. Monasticism proved important in Cilicia as it had been in Greater Armenia, and ultimately some thirty-seven Armenian monasteries existed in Cilicia at one time or another (though never all at once and not all of them have been located).³¹

The rank of archbishop had been introduced into the Armenian Church probably under Crusader influence, but the bishops were not subordinate to the archbishops. Reflecting the Byzantine tradition whereby the metropolitan archbishop alone governed the bishops while the other archbishops simply possessed higher rank, the Armenian archbishop, too, held a higher rank but lacked any distinct governing role greater than that possessed by bishops. Further, contrary to the practice in Greater Armenia, bishoprics were no longer assigned to specific princely houses in Cilicia, although bishops and archbishops were nevertheless found seated at monasteries associated with such families. Also, while bishops in Cilicia, following the practice in the Byzantine Empire and Western Europe, were assigned to particular cities, in the case of the Armenia Church the incumbent resided in a local monastery rather than in the city even if his see bore the city's name. Despite the growing similarities between the Armenian Apostolic Church and the Western churches, fundamental

³⁰ Ormanian, *Church*, p. 44; Smbat, *Taregirk*, pp. 208-09; T.S.R. Boase, ed., *The Cilician Kingdom of Armenia* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1978), pp. 146-47; Michel Thierry, *Répertoire des monastères arméniens* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1993), p. 52.

³¹ Thierry, *Répertoire*, pp. 51-57. See also Edwards, *Fortifications*, *passim*.

differences in matters of Christology remained. A great deal of ecclesiastical activity in Cilicia concerned the intermittent efforts toward the reconciliation of the Armenian Church with that of Rome; although such attempts produced no significant results, the Christological controversies involved led to several church councils as in Hromkla (1179-80), Sis (1307, 1345), and Adana (1316).³²

Cultural Life

Cilician Armenia, rich in literary and artistic culture,³³ became one of the great centers of Armenian art and learning, including the monasteries of Drazark, Skevra, and Hromkla, and the scriptoria of Krner, Akner, and Bardzrberd.³⁴ Among the great artists in the Cilician period were the anonymous illuminators of the Gospels of Queen Keran and Prince Vasak, but above all, Toros Roslin (mid-thirteenth century).³⁵ Distinguished secular authors of the Cilician period included the medical and scientific writer Mkhitar Heratsi (Mekhitar of Khoy, circa 1120-1200), the chronicler Smbat Sparapet or Constable (1208-1276), Hetum Patmich (Historian) of Korykos (thirteenth century) who wrote his *La Flor des Estoires de la Terre d'Orient* in Old French at the request of Pope Clement V (1305-14), and Vardan Aigektsi (Vardan of Aigek thirteenth century).³⁶

³² Ormanian, chs. 13-14; Dédéyan, *Histoire*, pp. 317-21.

³³ On Cilician literature, see, for example, Hiranth Thorossian, *Histoire de la littérature arménienne, des origins jusqu'à nos jours* (Paris: Thorossian, 1951); Manuk Abeghyan, *Erker* [Works], 8 vols. (Erevan: Armenian Academy of Sciences, 1966-1985), vol. 4; James Etmekjian, *History of Armenian Literature* (New York: St. Vartan Press, 1985); Srbouhi P. Hairapetian, *Hayots hin ev mijnadarian grakanutian patmutiun* [History of Ancient and Medieval Armenian Literature] (Los Angeles: S. Hairapetian, 1988), trans. as *A History of Armenian Literature: From Ancient Times to the Nineteenth Century* (Delmar, NY: Caravan, 1995); Agop J. Hacikyan, ed., *The Heritage of Armenian Literature*, vol. 2: *From the Sixth to the Eighteenth Century* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2002).

³⁴ On the art of Cilician Armenia, see Sirarpie Der Nersessian, *L'Art Arménien* (Paris: Arts et Métiers Graphiques, 1977), pp. 123-62; Hermann Göltz and Klaus E. Göltz, *Rescued Armenian Treasures from Cilicia* (Wiesbaden: Ludwig Reichert, 2000); Mutaftian, *Royaume*, vol. 2, p. 127.

³⁵ On Toros Roslin and other illuminators of the Cilician Silver Age, see Der Nersessian, *L'Art Arménien*.

³⁶ Abeghyan, *Erker*, vol. 4, pp. 115-16, 189-201, 247-49; Etmekjian, *History*, pp.

This period in Armenian Church history witnessed the emergence of men of the stature of Nerses Shnorhali (Nerses the Gracious), famed scholar, religious poet, and ecclesiastic, who became catholicos of Armenia (1166-73); Nerses Lambronatsi (Nerses of Lambron, 1153-99), bishop of Tarsus; and Catholicos Grigor IV Tgha (the Son, 1173-93).³⁷ Numerous proposals for a formal unification of the Armenian Church with that of Rome were raised in the Cilician period, and a number of church councils were held to discuss them, but little concrete and nothing permanent resulted from all of this except perhaps that the Vatican developed an interest in Armenia, marked by several Roman Catholic Dominican mission stations in the Maragha area.³⁸

Society

The Byzantine reconquest of Cilicia from the Muslims in the early eleventh century had led to the destruction of its cities and to the exodus of nearly the entire Muslim population, leaving the region largely deserted except for its Armenian inhabitants. The Byzantines failed to re-urbanize the area, and the notion that the Armenians based their new society on Classical and Byzantine urban centers appears to be untenable. The few former urban centers became towns rather than cities. Anazarba, once a magnificent Classical city, was a field of ruins (as it is today). Adana and Tarsus, along with the port of Ayas, were the only important towns. Ayas loomed large in medieval trade in the Crusader period, and its name in various forms appeared in Venetian, Genoese, and French documents.³⁹

393-96, 415-19, 429-33; Hairapetian, *Hayots grakanutian patmutiun*, pp. 291, 294, 313, 359, 371, 424-30, 445, Eng. trans., *History*, pp. 217-18, 220, 233, 265, 274, 314-20; Hacikyan, *Heritage*, pp. 427-30, 479-85, 504-15, 576-82; Mutaftian, *Royaume*, pp. 145-46.

³⁷ Mutaftian, *Royaume*, pp. 140-46.

³⁸ Ormanian, *Church*, chs. 13-14; Hewsen, *Atlas*, Map 116.

³⁹ The castle of Anazarba was occupied, but the city lay deserted with only few traces of medieval structures of the Classical remains (personal observation, summer, 1998). Ayas (now Yumurtalik) was known to medieval European merchants and traders under several names: *Lajasso*, *Laiazzo*, *Laicum*, *Laiacium*, and *Laizo*. See Boase, *Cilician Kingdom*, p. 155. This port was the starting point for the Pegalotti *Itinerary*, a guide to the road via Sivas and Erzerum to Tabriz in the Cilician period. See Hakob Manandian, *Trade and Cities of Armenia in Relation to Ancient World*

The archaeological investigations by Robert Edwards support the impression that Cilician Armenia was dominated by an Armenian nobility, the great barons, who resided in isolated castles as they had done in Greater Armenia and ruled over a peasantry living in scattered villages. The kingdom was defended by at least a hundred fortresses, forts, and castles.⁴⁰ Curiously, there is little information about the internal administration of the Cilician kingdom. At home, Levon I reorganized the kingdom, replacing the traditional dynastic structure of Armenian society, wherein the princes were sovereign entities unto themselves, with the more purely feudal European system where all power was the result of a royal grant. Beneath these great barons, of course, there remained their vassals, the lesser nobles, and the townspeople. Among the masses who worked the soil, the new-comers tended to be free, but the peasantry, inhabiting the land when the Armenian nobility arrived, served largely as semi-serfs. Socially, the Cilician kingdom had a cosmopolitan character, its towns thronged with Armenians, Greeks, Syrian Christians, Franks, Venetians, and Genoese, as barons, merchants, and military orders (for example, Knights Templars and Teutonic Knights). Cilician culture thus emerged as a Franco-Latin-Armenian synthesis.⁴¹

The Decline of the Cilician Kingdom

In 1266, the Mamluk Sultan Baybars of Egypt invaded Cilicia and ravaged the country, followed, two years later, by his seizure of Antioch. Attempts by the Crusaders to reverse this defeat with the aid of the Ilkhanid Mongol state in Persia failed. The Mamluks in 1281 defeated the Mongol Ilkhanid forces at the first battle of Homs in Syria, despite the fact that Armenian, Georgian, and Crusader troops supported the Ilkhanids. Subsequently, rent by internal political, religious, and dynastic strife and battered by

Trade, trans. Nina G. Garsoïan (Lisbon: Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, 1965), pp. 190-95.

⁴⁰ Edwards, *Fortifications*, pp. 5n13, 48-49. Edwards lists the defensive structures in Cilicia and gives ground plans and detailed descriptions of each. See also Jean-Claude Voisin, *Les citadelles du royaume Arménien de Cilicie XII^e-XIV^e siècle* (Beirut: Terre du Liban, 2002).

⁴¹ See Abeghyan, *Erker*, vol. 4; Etmekjian, *History*; Hairapetian, *Hayots grakanutian patmutiun*; Hacikyan, *Heritage*; Mutaïan, *Royaume*, *passim*.

repeated Mamluk and Turkish raids, Armenian Cilicia rapidly shrank in territory, prosperity, and influence, reduced to only the fortress of Anazarba, a few other outposts, and the capital of Sis. Its kings staved off the total annihilation of their realm only through a combination of fierce resistance, the payment of tribute, and the cession of land.⁴²

Armenian Cilicia passed to the Mamluks with the fall of Sis to their emir at Aleppo on April 13, 1375. The last king, Leo (Levon) V of the French house of the Lusignans, his French wife Margaret of Soissons, and their two daughters were led away to Cairo. Leo's family died in captivity, but he was ransomed by the monarchs of Aragon and Castile, who granted him the revenues of the town of Madrid as income.⁴³ After his release in 1382, Leo journeyed from Spain to France and England to secure aid in regaining his kingdom but died in Paris in 1393. There, he was buried with the kings of France at the royal sepulchral abbey of St. Denis. The Lusignans, retaining the title of King of Armenia, ruled Cyprus until their Venetian heiress, Catherina Cornaro (1458-1510), placed the island under Venetian control in 1489. Thereafter, the title passed through inheritance to the princes of Savoy, who retained it after becoming kings of Sardinia and then of the unified Italian kingdom. The last bearer of the title, Umberto II, briefly king of Italy in 1946, died in March 1983.⁴⁴

Later Medieval Cilicia

The Armenian interlude in Cilicia long reverberated in the area. The Mamluks considered Cilicia no more than a marchland and invested little in the region besides the construction of fortifica-

⁴² Mutaftian, *Cilicie*, vol. 1, pp. 435-39, 452-53; Toumanoff, "Armenia and Georgia," pp. 635-37.

⁴³ Leo was the illegitimate son of Prince John, brother of Guy, who reigned in Cilicia as King Constantine II (or III). See Cyril Toumanoff, *Manuel de généalogie et de chronologie pour l'histoire de la Caucasic chrétienne* (Rome: Aquila, 1976), p. 323; idem, *Les dynasties de la Caucasic chrétienne* (Rome: Toumanoff, 1990), p. 322. According to Toumanoff, Leo's mother was a Georgian princess. See his "Armenia and Georgia," pp. 636-37. On the genealogy of Cilician dynasties, see also Rüd̄t-Collenberg, *Rupenides, Hethumides and Lusignans*, *passim*.

⁴⁴ Toumanoff, *Manuel*, p. 518, and *Dynasties*, pp. 325-28.

tions such as Kahta and Karkar and in fortified cities such as Behesni, Aintab, and Bir, all linked by a chain of post stations to their capital at Aleppo. The Mamluks were concerned primarily with an attack by the Ilkhanid Mongols to the north and east of their borders. The Cilician towns of Adana, Tarsus, and Misis were left to the Turkmen (Turkoman) principalities to control within a confederacy of semi-nomadic tribes. The principality of Dulkadir, for example, was held by the clan of the Ramizanoghlu. The Mamluks used these principalities, difficult to control and to tax, as buffers against the Ilkhans and the Turks.⁴⁵

None of this benefitted the Armenian population. The fall of Sis led to the deportation of thousands of Armenians to Egypt, and for a long time the political situation remained unstable.⁴⁶ Agriculture and trade declined; high taxes and import duties ruined the trade of Ayas, and the route from Ayas to Tabriz via Sivas and Erzerum ceased to be used. Some Armenians survived by joining their compatriots in the mountain fastnesses of the Taurus, especially at Zeitun and Harghan (Hajin), governed more or less autonomously by local princelings who claimed descent from the kings of Cilicia.

The situation for the Armenians briefly improved in the period from about 1430 to 1450, largely as a result of the revival of Aleppo (Haleb), which, linking up with Mardin, Tabriz, and Bursa (Brusa), once again became a great center of trade. As the towns of Adana, Tarsus, and Aintab benefitted from this economic revival, so did the Armenians perhaps as the result of a deliberate policy on the part of the Mamluks. Catholicos of Cilicia, Karapet of Tokat (1446-77), journeyed to Cairo for his confirmation, and taxation upon the Armenians was relatively light on the eve of the Ottoman occupation, possibly to stimulate their role and that of Cilicia in the new international system of trade. This new era of prosperity did not long endure, however. The Ottomans aroused hostilities between Dulkadir and the Mamluks, which ravaged Cilicia in the periods from 1467 to 1469 and 1482 to

⁴⁵ Thomas A. Sinclair, "Cilicia after the Kingdom: Population, Monasteries . . . under the Mamluks," unpublished paper, Middle East Studies Association, San Francisco, November, 2001.

⁴⁶ Ibid. Sinclair suggests as many as 40,000 may have been transferred.

1484. The Ottomans subsequently attacked the Mamluks directly beginning in 1485 and occupied Cilicia in 1516, ending the long period of Mamluk dominion over Cilicia.⁴⁷

The Armenian Church survived this phase of turbulence, but the monasteries declined and few manuscripts were copied during this period. The catholicosate was set up at Sis in 1293 when the supreme patriarch transferred his headquarters there from Hromkla on the Euphrates River. While the catholicosal seat was returned to the Mother See of Armenian Apostolic Church at Echmiadzin in 1441 (not without controversy and probably with the connivance if not the initiation of Jihanshah, chief of the Kara Koyunlu or Black Sheep Turkmens), successive patriarchs continued to be elected at Sis down through the centuries as heads of the Catholicosate of the Great House of Cilicia, a title that is retained to the present day.⁴⁸

Ottoman Cilicia

After its annexation of Cilicia, the Ottoman Empire never placed all of Cilicia in a single administrative unit. Most of the region was included in the vilayet of Adana, which extended farther to the west than had the Cilician kingdom, while the eastern districts of Marash and Aintab were attached to the province of Aleppo. Nevertheless, the vilayet of Adana was home to a large Armenian population. The Catholicosate of Sis was located in the vilayet and, although the Ottoman confessional-organized *millet* system recognized it as subordinate to the Armenian Patriarchate of Constantinople, the Armenians of Cilicia maintained their own ecclesiastical organization.⁴⁹ This provided them with a structure separate from the rest of Turkish Armenia, a reality which the Ottoman authorities had probably not intended. In the coastal towns, the Armenians were exposed to the influences from foreign lands and had become fully urbanized by the end of the nineteenth century. The Armenians in such mountain retreats as Zeitun and Hajin, having rendered important services to the Ottomans in their struggle against the local Turkmens, were granted

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Ormanian, *Church*, p. 65.

⁴⁹ Ibid., pp. 117, 207.

a degree of autonomy that lasted until the 1860s.⁵⁰ The villagers of the remote mountain *kazas* (districts) of the province kept in touch with the more advanced communities of Adana, Tarsus, and Mersina (Mersin), while American missionary and local Armenian initiatives led to the establishment of schools even in the mountain villages.⁵¹

The vilayet of Adana was divided by nature into two parts: the Taurus Mountains with rich and barely exploited mineral resources, and the fertile plains to the south. The plains were warm and humid in the summer when the swamps generated serious fevers, while the climate was mild and dry in the upland zones. The province consisted of four *sanjaks* or counties (Sis or Kozan, Adana, Ichili, and Jebel Bereket), nineteen *kazas*, twenty-three *nahiyes* or cantons, and 1,629 villages. Its territory consisted of about 40,000 square kilometers (24,855 square miles), approximately 40 percent of which was arable, nearly 58 percent mountainous, and 2 percent swampland.⁵²

Ecclesiastical Organization

The Armenian Apostolic Church was represented in the vilayet of Adana by the Catholicos of the Great House of Cilicia, residing in a large, fortified monastery at the old Cilician capital of Sis. After 1441, when the seat of the catholicosal seat returned to Echmiadzin, the Catholicos of Sis had under his jurisdiction his own diocese (16 parishes, 7 churches and nearly 9,000 members), the archbishop of Adana (16 parishes, 12 churches, about 35,000 members) presiding over the bishops of Payas (25 parishes, 11 churches, 11,000 members), Zeitun (18 parishes, 14 churches, 20,000 members), Hajin (5 parishes, 8 churches, 20,000 members), Aintab (4 parishes, 6 churches, 30,000 members), and the abbot

⁵⁰ Dédéyan, *Histoire*, p. 387.

⁵¹ Great Britain, Parliament, *The Treatment of Armenians in the Ottoman Empire, 1915-16: Documents Presented to Viscount Grey of Fallodon, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs*, Miscellaneous no. 31, 1916, comp. and ed. Arnold Toynbee (London: H.S.M.O., 1916), pp. 465-67.

⁵² For the vilayet of Adana, see Vital Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie* (Paris: E. Leroux, 1892), vol. 2, pp. 3-108; Raymond H. Kévorkian, and Paul B. Paboudjian, *Les Arméniens dans l'Empire ottoman à la veille du génocide* (Paris: Editions d'Art et d'Histoire, 1992), ch. 5.

of Furnuz (Frnuz; Furnus) (6 parishes, 10 churches, 7,000 members). Under the Catholicos at Sis came also the archbishop of Germanike (Marash), the bishops of Antioch (Antakia), Melitene (Malatia), and Teprike (Devrig), the abbot who served as prelate at Tarantia (Derende), as well as the four monasteries of Sapi-ran, Karmir, Shughur, and Karachiru on Musa Dagħ, all of which lay outside of the vilayet of Adana.⁵³

The modern Catholic community, the result of Italian and French missionary activity, dated to the seventeenth century, while the Protestant community, the product of extensive American missionary activity, was formed in the nineteenth century. The primate of the Armenian Catholic Church, established in 1742, bore the title Patriarch of Cilicia even though he presided from Bzommar, Lebanon (1742-1867), Constantinople (1867-1928), and again Bzommar (1928 to the present).

Population

The size of the population of Cilicia, encompassing the Adana and parts of the Aleppo vilayets, is problematical but from an ethno-religious point of view it was extremely diverse. The Muslims included Turks, Arabs, and Kurds, among others. The Christian population, in addition to the Armenians belonging to the Apostolic Church, included Catholics, Protestants, Greek Orthodox, Syrian Orthodox, and adherents of several other denominations. In 1882, the Armenian population in the vilayet of Adana totaled about 280,000,⁵⁴ concentrated mostly in the sanjaks of Adana, Kozan (Sis), and Jebel Bereket. Christian and Muslim Arabs from greater Syria had settled in Mersina, where they formed the bulk of the population.⁵⁵ In the vilayet of Aleppo, the

⁵³ There were at one time four catholicosates in the hierarchy of the Armenian Church. While the catholicos and supreme patriarch of the Armenian Church resided at Echmiadzin, there was also a catholicos of (Caucasian or Caspian) Albania (from circa 316 until suppressed by the Russians in 1830), a catholicos at the monastery on the island of Aghtamar in Van province (from 1113 until left vacant in 1895; the Young Turk government eliminated it in 1916), and the catholicos at Sis. Ormanian, *Church*, p. 207.

⁵⁴ Justin McCarthy, *Muslims and Minorities: The Population of Ottoman Anatolia and the End of the Empire* (New York: New York University Press, 1983), p. 54.

⁵⁵ Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, p. 9.

Armenian population totaled about 100,000 in 1882. The following data show the distribution of the Armenian population in the late nineteenth century and prior to World War I according to various sources. These population figures can hardly be reconciled, the truth being buried beneath uninformed guesswork, careless enumerating, political polemic, and deliberate obfuscation.

Cuinet⁵⁶

| | <i>Vilayet of Adana</i> | <i>Vilayet of Aleppo</i> | <i>Total</i> |
|---|-----------------------------|------------------------------|--------------|
| Ottoman Turk | 93,200 | 159,787 | 252,987 |
| Circassian | 13,200 | 9,000 | 22,200 |
| Kurdish and Turkmen nomad | 39,600 | 103,744 | 143,344 |
| Syrian and Arab | 12,000 | — | 12,000 |
| Syrian Arab | — | 300,541 | 300,541 |
| Armenian Apostolic | 69,300 | 17,999 | 87,299 |
| Armenian Catholic | 11,550 | 15,563 | 27,113 |
| Armenian Protestant | 16,600 | — | 16,600 |
| Protestant | — | 9,033 | 9,033 |
| Greek Orthodox | 46,200 | 18,665 | 64,865 |
| Greek Catholic | — | 23,315 | 23,315 |
| Syrian Orthodox | 20,900 | — | 20,900 |
| Syrian Jacobite | — | 20,594 | 20,594 |
| Syrian Catholic | — | 20,913 | 20,913 |
| Chaldean Catholic | — | 17,027 | 17,027 |
| Chaldean non-Uniate | — | 15,300 | 15,300 |
| Jew | — | 19,633 | 19,633 |
| Gypsy | 16,050 | — | 16,050 |
| Other Muslim (Fellah, Ansarieh, Tahtaji, Nusairi) | 56,000 | 26,713 | 82,713 |
| Other Catholic (Latin and Maronite) | 4,539 | 4,447 | 8,986 |
| Persian, Afghan, etc. | 4,400 | — | 4,400 |
| TOTAL | 403,539 | 782,274 | 1,185,813 |

⁵⁶ Ibid., p. 5. Cuinet's categories for ethnic and religious groups are slightly different for the vilayets of Adana and Aleppo. For Aleppo, Cuinet has the sanjaks of Aleppo, Marash, and Urfa. The figures presented here are for the sanjaks of Aleppo and Marash. See *ibid.*, p. 114.

Ormanian (1910)⁵⁷
Armenians

| <i>Dioceses</i> | <i>Apostolic</i> | <i>Catholic</i> | <i>Protestant</i> |
|-------------------|------------------|-----------------|-------------------|
| Sis | 9,000 | ... | 500 |
| Adana | 35,000 | 2,000 | 900 |
| Hajin | 20,000 | 1,000 | 200 |
| Payas | 11,000 | ... | ... |
| Beria | 15,000 | 5,000 | 2,000 |
| Germanicia/Marash | 30,000 | 4,000 | 3,500 |
| Ulnia/Zeitun | 20,000 | 500 | 500 |
| Aintab | 30,000 | 1,000 | 4,000 |
| Antioch | 12,000 | 2,000 | 1,500 |
| Furnuz | 7,000 | ... | ... |
| TOTAL | 189,000 | 15,500 | 13,100 |

Armenian Patriarchate of Constantinople (1914)⁵⁸

| | |
|-----------------|---------|
| Armenian | 205,050 |
| Greek | 40,000 |
| Other Christian | 41,000 |
| Muslim | 156,000 |
| Other | 48,000 |
| TOTAL | 490,050 |

McCarthy⁵⁹

| | <i>Vilayet of Adana</i> | <i>Vilayet of Aleppo</i> | <i>Total</i> |
|----------|-----------------------------|------------------------------|--------------|
| Muslim | 573,256 | 844,486 | 1,417,742 |
| Armenian | 74,930 | 101,849 | 176,779 |
| Greek | 14,825 | 25,472 | 40,297 |

⁵⁷ Ormanian, *Church*, p. 207. The dioceses of Sis consisted of the sanjak or county of Kozan; Adana, sanjaks of Adana, Mersina, and Ichili; Hajin, kaza of Hajin; Payas, sanjak of Bereketdagħ or Jebel Bereket; Beria (Aleppo), kazas of Aleppo, Iskenderun, and Beylan; Germanicia (Marash), kazas of Marash, Albistan, and Bazarjik; Ulnia or Zeitun, kazas of Zeitun and Anderin; Furnuz, *nahie* or canton of Furnuz; Aintab, kazas of Aintab and Kilis; Antioch, kazas of Antakia, Shughur, and Sahlun.

⁵⁸ McCarthy, *Muslims*, p. 52.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 110. McCarthy's methodology, described by him in detail in Appendix 4 of his study, has been challenged by Levon Marashlian, *Politics and Demography: Armenians, Turks and Kurds in the Ottoman Empire* (Cambridge, MA, and Toronto: Zoryan Institute, 1991).

| | | | |
|---|---------|---------|-----------|
| Syrian Christian (Syrian [Orthodox], Chaldean, Nestorian) | 2,477 | 3,847 | 6,324 |
| Jew | 85 | 14,416 | 14,501 |
| Other | 1,005 | 1,529 | 2,534 |
| TOTAL | 666,578 | 991,599 | 1,658,177 |

Economy

The Cilician plains are extremely fertile. Watered by the Seyhan, Jeyhan, and Tarsus rivers, they produced excellent crops of grain (wheat, barley, rye, oats, sesame, corn), cotton, tobacco, opium, grapes, melons, citrus fruits, sugar cane, and various kinds of fruit tree. Both in the plains and in the mountains, animal husbandry was common, and there were many herds of camels, horses, and donkeys, as well as flocks of sheep and goats. A great variety of wildlife existed in Adana province, leopards, panthers, bears, wolves, hyenas, jackals, gazelles, and great herds of deer being the most common. Game birds included the francolin, partridge, and quail.⁶⁰ Forestry was the most important industry of Adana province. The trees, covering about 490,865 hectares (1,212,954 acres), included pines, oak, cypress, walnut, cedar, and olive trees, cut both for fuel and for construction. Although the mountains were rich in iron ore, copper, and lead, no significant mining took place except at Bereket Maden for a silver-bearing lead ore (galena) and at Bulgar Maden for silver. A saline spring at Adana was the only one exploited in the province.

In the late nineteenth century, in spite of the region's economic potential, the local peasantry was in dire financial straits and forced to borrow money at usurious rates in order to purchase grain seed. To remedy the situation, the government established an office and subsequently in 1888 a formal agricultural bank to lend money to the peasantry. Manufacturing, still undeveloped, consisted mostly of poor textiles and the weaving of mats and coverings called *kilim*. In the absence of sufficient local production, Cilicia's economy depended on trade, importing

⁶⁰ Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, pp. 13, 15.

all sorts of European products and manufactured goods, while exporting cotton and grain to Europe and timber and cattle to Egypt and Syria.⁶¹ Also, despite its numerous rivers, which over the centuries had deposited considerable silt along the shores, the entire coast of Cilicia lacked a good port, with the exception of Mersina and a few other places where ships could drop anchor. Yumurtalik, near the medieval port of Ayas (the latter long silted up), was the best roadstead at the eastern end but had no serviceable road to connect it with the interior. Roads were in poor condition in Adana province, and most goods still moved by camel caravans. The late nineteenth century saw the coming of the railroad to the Middle East and Cilicia, linking Mersina with Tarsus and Adana.⁶²

The City of Adana and Other Urban Centers

Located in the broad and fertile plain of the Seyhun River about 30 miles (48 kilometers) from the sea, Adana, situated at 66 feet (20 meters) above sea level, was in 1890 a city of 45,000 people, of whom some 15,000 were migrant workers who came for about three months each year to help with the harvesting and cleaning of cotton. Of the remaining 30,000 permanent residents, about 13,000 were Muslims and 12,575 Armenians. Between 4,500 to 5,000 Greeks and some Persians made up the rest of the population. Although the city was beautifully situated, the local marshes produced such fevers that during the hot and humid months of summer most of the population left the city for retreats in the mountains. Adana was a large town, with the oriental characteristics of narrow lanes and brick houses presenting blank walls to the street, in addition to several large bathhouses, a theater, a quai along the waterfront, and a public garden. Among its antiquities were the ruins of a medieval castle and a bridge first built in the time of the Byzantine Emperor Justinian (527-65).

Industry was represented in Adana by a factory producing

⁶¹ Ibid., p. 16.

⁶² Ibid., pp. 21-22.

sesame oil, another manufacturing cloth for military uniforms, and seven mills engaged in the processing of cotton. In the vicinity of the town were fifty-five grain mills and 1,330 vineyards. The city contained eighteen mosques, thirty-seven medreses (Muslim theological schools), eight *tekkes* (Muslim chapels), two Armenian churches, one Roman Catholic church, one Greek church, one Protestant church, twenty-nine khans, and two hotels. Adana possessed twenty-eight Turkish primary schools and one secondary school, two Greek schools for boys and girls, one Armenian Apostolic boys' school, one girls' school of the Armenian Catholic Sisters of the Immaculate Conception (Anarat Hghutiun), and one operated by French Jesuits. A Persian consul and a French vice consul were resident in the city.⁶³

Mersina or Mersine served as the port of Adana vilayet and a growing center of commerce with its streets of bazaars, a large number of khans and hotels. Every major country in Europe had offices of consuls, vice consuls, or consular agents. Its population of about 9,000 was predominantly Muslim but included some 2,700 Greeks, 860 Armenians, and 260 Latin Catholics, in addition to a large transient population.⁶⁴

Despite its illustrious name associated with St. Paul, Tarsus was a relatively small city in the late nineteenth century, and even with considerable commerce in the region the town occupied but a quarter of its ancient extent. It was home to about 8,000 inhabitants, more than half of whom were Muslims. Only a few hundred Armenians lived in Tarsus, but the town had a large school established by missionaries of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions as well as St. Paul's Institute (1888-1921), a native Armenian Protestant higher school of considerable importance. Tarsus was also a titular see of the Armenian Catholic Apostolic vicariate at Constantinople.⁶⁵

High in the Taurus Mountains in the northeast of the vilayet of Adana lay the town which the Armenians called Ulnia, bet-

⁶³ Ibid., pp. 38-40; Mesrop Krikorian, *Armenians in the Service of the Ottoman Empire* (London and Boston: Routledge, 1977), ch. 7; Kévorkian and Paboudjian, *Les Arméniens*, pp. 265-78.

⁶⁴ Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, pp. 50-53; Kévorkian and Paboudjian, *Les Arméniens*, pp. 279-85.

⁶⁵ Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, pp. 44-48; Kévorkian and Paboudjian, *Les Arméniens*, pp. 265-79, 285-89.

ter known by its Arabic name Zeitun (now Suleymanli). Here lived a spirited race of mountaineers, who had settled there in 1485 and who, having aided Sultan Murad IV (1623-40) in his war against the surrounding Turkmen tribes, had been granted as a reward virtual independence subject only to an annual payment of tribute. Under this dispensation, Zeitun became a large fortified town divided into four quarters each ruled by an Armenian family: Surenian, Apardian, Shovroyan, and Yaghubian. This situation lasted until 1862, when a more direct Ottoman control was instituted.⁶⁶

Hajin (Armenian: Harghan; now Saimbeyli) is situated on a plateau on the southern slopes of the Taurus, about 1,050 feet (320 meters) above sea level, at the juncture of two streams, the Kerdete and the Obruk. With its population of more than 25,000 and its surrounding eighty-four dependent villages, Hajin developed around the old Cilician castle of Harghan and became the most important town of the *sanjak* (county) of Kozan. Because of Hajin's remoteness, the Armenian inhabitants had maintained their autonomy for some time. The town was taken by the Mamluks at the fall of the Cilician kingdom and later by the Turks. In the mid-sixteenth century, the Afshars, a local Turkmen tribe, attempted to control Hajin but were beaten off by Prince Tur-Sarkis (Sergius the Sword) and later by his grandson Haji Eghia (Ilias the Pilgrim). By 1750, Hajin eventually fell under the control of the Turkmen chiefs of the Khozanoghlu tribe who retained a certain degree of independence from Ottoman rule but were brought under Ottoman control in the nineteenth century.⁶⁷

⁶⁶ Dédéyan, *Histoire*, pp. 387-88; Hakob Alahvertian, *Ulnia kam Zeytun, lernayin avan i Kilikia* [Ulnia or Zeitun, a Mountainous Town in Cilicia] (Constantinople: G. Baghdadian, 1884); Aghasi [Karapet Ter-Sargisian], *Zeitun, depuis les origines jusqu'à l'insurrection de 1895*, trans. Archag Tchobanian (Paris: Mercure de France, 1898); Aghasi, *Zeitun ev ir shrjakanere* [Zeitun and Its Environs] (Beirut: Hajin Compatriotic Union-Shirag, 1968; first pub., 1898); Zeytuntsi, *Zeytuni antsialen ev nerkayen* [From the Past and Present of Zeitun], 2 vols. (Venice: Mekhitarist Press, 1900-1903); Haykaz Poghosyan, *Zeituni patmutyun (1409-1921)* [History of Zeitun (1409-1921)] (Erevan: Hayastan, 1969); Grigor Galustian, *Marash kam Germanik ev heros Zeytun* [Marash or Germanik and Heroic Zeitun] (New York: Marash Compatriotic Union, 1934; repr. 1988); Levon Norashkharhyan, *Zeytune, 1914-1921* (Erevan: Armenian Academy of Sciences, 1984).

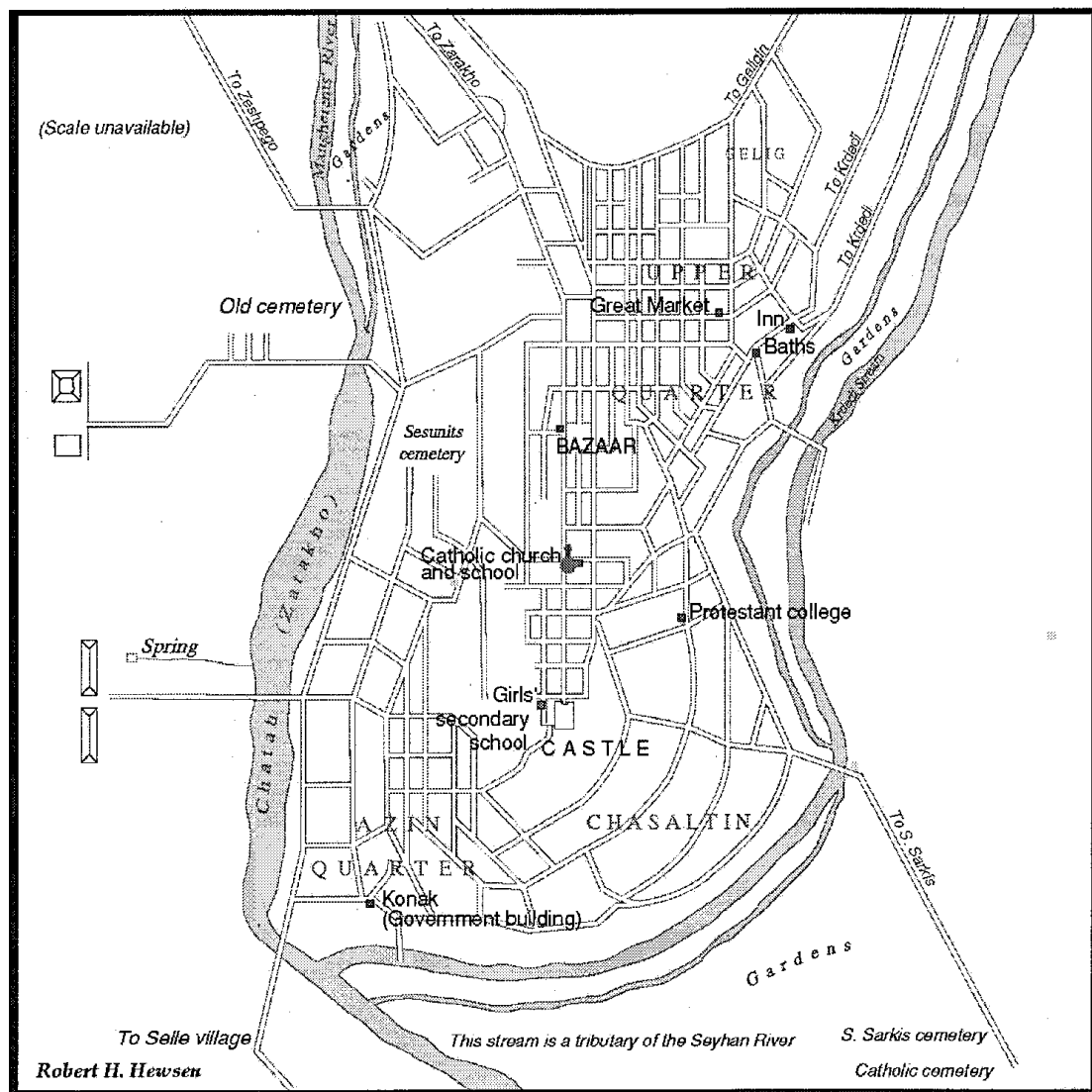
⁶⁷ Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, pp. 94-95; Haykaz Poghosian, *Hacheni endhanur patmutiune* [General History of Hajin] (Los Angeles: Bozart, 1942); Kévorkian and

The city of Marash (Greek: Germanikeia; Western Armenian: Kermanig) dates from Hittite and Assyrian times and was originally called Markasu. In the Roman period, it was renamed Germanicia after Germanicus, the nephew of the Emperor Octavian (Augustus, 27 B.C.-14 A.D.). Marash became an important Armenian center with an archbishop under the Catholicosate of Sis and an Armenian Catholic bishop under the Armenian Catholic Patriarchate at Bzommar. Near Marash lay the Armenian villages of Findijek, Derek, and Kilifli, the first of which had about 3,000 inhabitants.⁶⁸ The American Board made Marash one of its earliest centers of activity in the Ottoman Empire beginning in 1847 and founded a native Armenian Protestant congregation by 1854, an American Protestant seminary in 1867, and Central Turkey Girls' College in 1882. Other Protestant missionaries at work in Marash included the Disciples of Christ, a German mission, and the German Lohmann Society with its hospital. The Roman Catholic missions consisted of the Lazarist brothers and the Armenian Sisters of the Immaculate Conception.

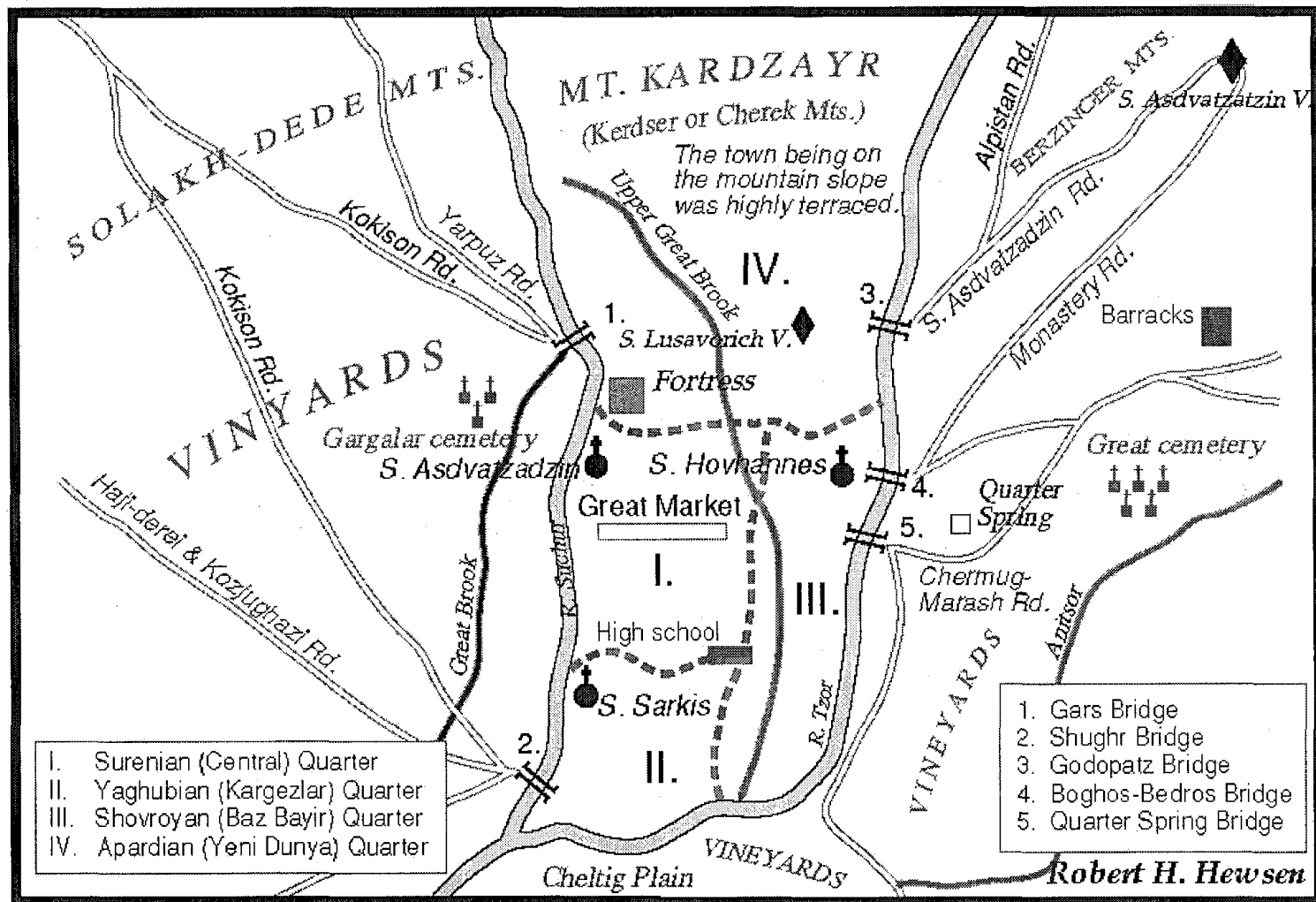
Sis is believed to have been the site of the Roman town of Flaviopolis, a locality apparently important enough to bear an imperial surname without pretension (the Flavian emperors reigned from A.D. 69 to 96). Sis was the last capital of the Cilician kingdom and from 1293 until 1441, the residence of the supreme patriarch of the Armenian Church. High above the large monastery atop the mountain sprawled the ruins of the medieval castle of Sis, the last royal residence of the Cilician kings. The Catholicosate at Sis endured until 1915, when it was transferred to Aleppo, Syria, and in 1930 to Antelias, Lebanon. Until World War I, Sis was primarily an Armenian community as evinced by its having three Armenian schools compared with one for Muslim children. The kaza of Sis had a population of about 10,000 inhabitants in the late nineteenth century, distributed in ninety-four localities. The town of Sis, home to some 3,500 inhabitants, was made up of stone-built houses lying terraced on the slopes of an isolated mountain situated in a broad but arid plain. According to Vital Cuinet, at the end of the nineteenth century the town

Paboudjian, *Les Arméniens*, pp. 295-300; Robert H. Hewsen, "Débris de l'indépendance nationale...(des origines au XVIII^e siècle)," in Dédéyan, *Histoire*, p. 388.

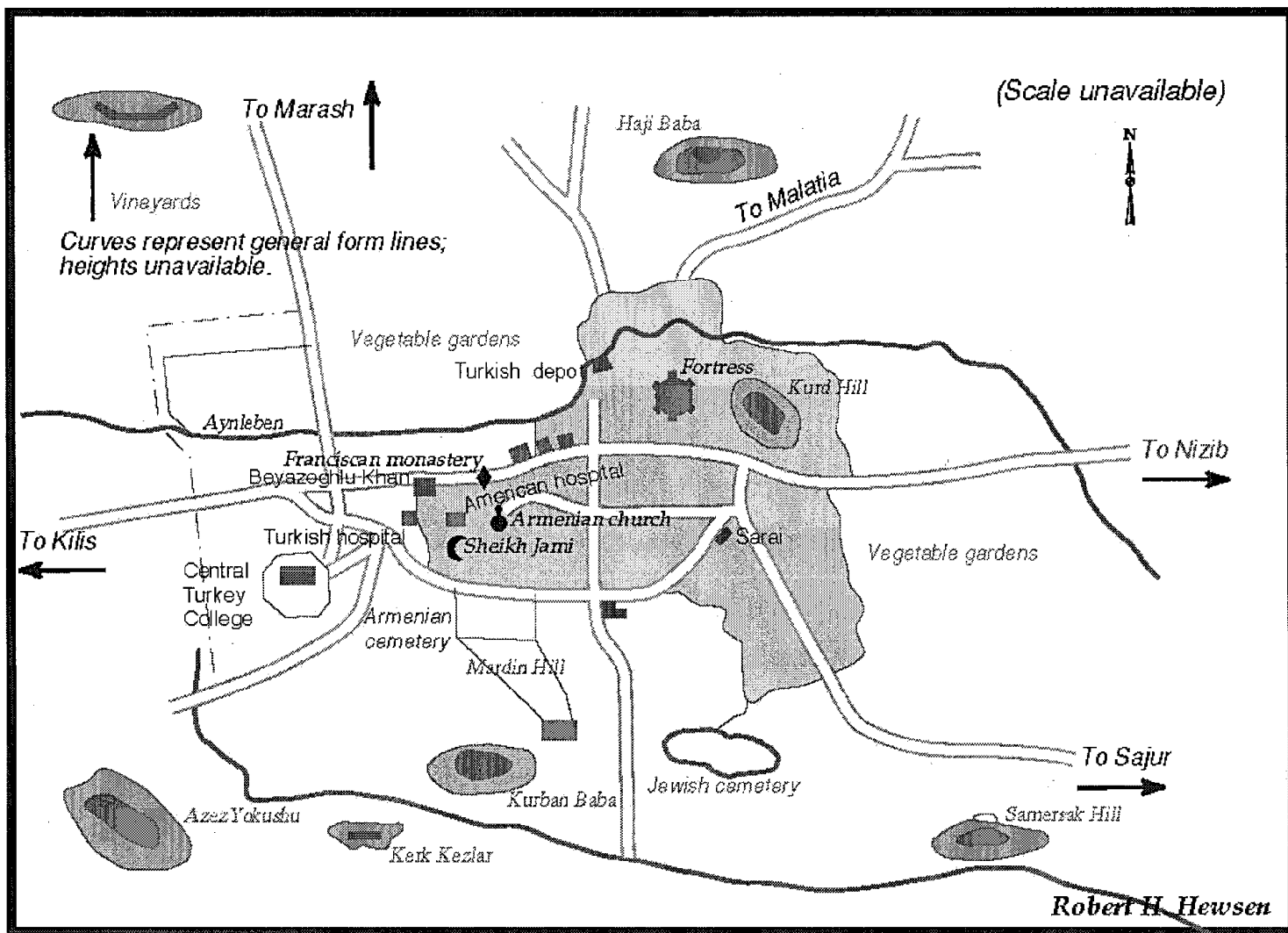
⁶⁸ See Kévorkian and Paboudjian, *Les Arméniens*, pp. 305-11.



The Town of Hajin



The Town of Zeitun



The City of Aintab

had 2,500 Apostolic Armenians, 700 Muslims, and 300 inhabitants of other faiths. The chief product of Sis was cotton.⁶⁹

To the north of Sis lay the high mountain town of Vahka (Turkish: Feke) with a small population of about 2,500, of which nearly 1,500 were Armenians. Here, overlooking the gorge of the Saros River, were the ruins of an eleventh century castle built by Kogh Vasil, one of the earliest Armenian nobles to establish an Armenian principality in Cilicia, and here, at the nearby monastery of Vahka, was the seat of the Achabahian clan, who for some time dominated successively the catholicosal throne of Cilicia. In the vicinity of Vahka were a number of exclusively or partly Armenian villages, some of them Turkish-speaking, others deserted as a result of the massacres of 1895-96.⁷⁰

Massacres in 1895 and 1909

During the massacres of 1895-96, which claimed the lives of more than 100,000 Armenians in the Ottoman Empire, the Armenians of Zeitun, located high in the Taurus Mountains, became one of the primary targets, although the Zeituntsis organized a spirited self-defense. Thereafter, dissatisfaction with the rule of Sultan Abdul Hamid II led to the revolution by the Young Turks in July 1908. Although the new regime restored the Ottoman constitution suspended in 1876, the vilayet of Adana continued to be governed by a corrupt and fanatical *vali* or provincial governor, hardly prepared for the new constitutional period. On April 13, 1909, a massacre of Armenians began in Adana that lasted for three days; an estimated 2,000 people were killed in the town of Adana and between some 15,000 and in the rural areas where nearly 200 villages were destroyed. In a second outbreak of massacre on April 25, a massive fire engulfed 4,823 houses, of which 4,437 belonged to Armenians. The massacres soon spread to Hamidiye, where 500 local Armenians fought for their lives for twenty-two days but were ultimately overwhelmed

⁶⁹ Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, pp. 90-91, 95-96; Kévorkian and Paboudjian, *Les Arméniens*, pp. 290-92, 294; Misak Keleshian, *Sis-Matian* [Sis Book] (Beirut: Hay Jemaran Press, 1949).

⁷⁰ Christopher J. Walker, *Armenia: Survival of a Nation* (London: Croom Helm, 1980), pp. 161-62.

by superior Turkish forces and killed. The Armenians of Hajin in the mountains and in the village of Dort-Yol near the coast successfully resisted the prolonged attacks.⁷¹

Nor was Tarsus spared in the carnage. In her description of the massacres in 1909, the American Congregationalist missionary Helen Davenport Gibbons notes the arrival of irregular troops in the town, their arming at the government building, the burning of the entire Armenian quarter, and the massacre of its population. The American mission station attempted to save as many lives as possible, but an estimated 100 Armenians were killed in Tarsus and another 400 in the local villages. The arrival of a British battleship alone saved Mersina from a similar fate.⁷² The Ottoman authorities executed a total of six Armenians and thirty-four Turks as perpetrators of the violence.⁷³

The Genocide of 1915

During the massacres and deportations of 1915, the railhead at Bozanti at the Cilician Gates served as one of the central transfer points for Armenian refugees. Having marched from western and northwestern Anatolia, some of the refugees were taken by train and then forced to march to their death to the Syrian desert, while others from Cilicia were sent north to the barren region of the great salt lake Tuz Gölü. One striking feature of the genocide in Cilicia is that the deportation began at Zeitun on April 8, 1915, thereby giving the lie to the claim that the cause of the Armenians deportations was the Armenian uprising at Van. Zeitun, which had held out with such heroism in 1895, had earned the enmity of the Turks, and its population was the first to be deported, the town being attacked by a regular army unit. The Armenians of Zeitun resisted for a while but were overwhelmed, massacred or deported, some sent north to Sultania in the vilayet of Konia, others south to the deserts of Syria and Mesopotamia. Immediately after the deportations, the Armenian

⁷¹ Ibid., pp. 161, 182-88.

⁷² Helen Davenport Gibbons, *The Red Rugs of Tarsus* (Boston: Century, 1917), ch. 8.

⁷³ Walker, *Armenia*, pp. 186-88; Paren Kazanjian, *The Cilician Armenian Ordeal* (Boston: Hye Intentions, 1989); Kévorkian, *La Cilicie, passim*.

houses were handed over to Muslim refugees from the Balkans. The Armenians of the other mountain towns such as Geben, Furnuz, and Albistan were deported next, followed by those in Tarsus, Mersina, and Adana. At Adana, the Armenian men had already been conscripted for labor, and the women and children were deported separately.⁷⁴ Unlike Armenian refugees from the high plateau to the east, Armenians from communities in Cilicia were closer to Syria, and this proximity enabled relatively more Cilician Armenians to survive the deportations than those from other affected areas.

At Sis, the order for deportation came on September 3, 1915, the monastic community being given ten days in which to prepare for departure. Catholicos Sahag (Sahak) II (1902-39) had already journeyed to Adana hoping to alleviate the situation there and, failing, had gone on to Aleppo. The monks packed most of the treasures of the monastery and almost miraculously, with the greatest difficulty, brought the huge packing cases safely to Aleppo.⁷⁵

In only one case did the Cilician Armenians manage to save their lives and these were the now famous inhabitants of Musa Ler, the Mountain of Moses (Turkish: Musa Dagh; Arabic: Jebel Musa). Located in the extreme southeast of Cilicia overlooking the Mediterranean Sea, Musa Ler was home to several thousand Armenian peasants living in six villages on its slopes: Yoghun Oluk, Haji Habibli, Kheder Bek, Vakif, Kabusiyeh, and Bitias. When the order to prepare for deportation came, only sixty families complied. The rest decided to resist and defended themselves for forty-five days, at the end of which they were rescued by a French warship, a siege immortalized by Franz Werfel's novel, *The Forty Days of Musa Dagh*, published in 1934.⁷⁶

⁷⁴ *Treatment of Armenians*, pp. 203, 465-505; Naslian, *Mémoires*, vol. 1, chs. 12 and 13; Walker, *Armenia*, pp. 203-05; Eberhard Count Wolffskeel von Reichenberg, *Zeitoun, Mousa Dagh, Ourfa: Letters on the Armenian Genocide*, ed. Hilmar Kaiser (Princeton: Gomidas Institute, 2001), pp. 3-15, 33-45.

⁷⁵ Göltz and Göltz, *Armenian Treasures*, p. 10.

⁷⁶ Kévorkian and Paboudjian, *Les Arméniens*, pp. 343-48. For the ethnography of Musa Dagh, see Grigor Gyozyan, *Musa Leran azgagrutyune* [The Ethnography of Mount Musa] (Erevan: Armenian Academy of Sciences, 2001). For the events at Musa Dagh, see *Treatment of Armenians*, ch. 16; Naslian, *Mémoires*, vol. 1, pp. 455-57; Walker, *Armenia*, pp. 223-25; von Reichenberg, *Zeitoun*, pp. 16-19, 46-49.

The Cilician Question, 1918-1922

The failure of the proposal to establish an Armenian state in Cilicia under French protection after World War I represented another unfortunate episode of modern Armenian history. During the genocide and the first Republic of Armenia (1918-1920/21), the desire to salvage something out of the Armenian presence in the lands at the northeast corner of the Mediterranean Sea became an acute issue to Armenians. At the end of the war, large parts of the former Ottoman Empire passed under Allied control and were partitioned in accordance with the secret wartime Allied agreements.⁷⁷

The French assumed control of the civilian administration of the former vilayet of Adana and utilized the administrative machinery inherited directly from the Ottomans. General Edmund Allenby, conqueror of Jerusalem and the chief British military official in the Middle East, appointed Colonel Edouard Brémont as chief administrator of the area, while, from February to November 1919, the British supplied a military force to defend it. At first, the French labored to establish Cilicia as a French sphere of influence, utilizing the repatriated Armenians (more than 100,000) to suppress local Turkish nationalist sentiments; however, the French lacked sufficient force to hold such centers as Adana, Aintab, Tarsus, Urfa, Mersina, Bozanti, Marash, and Sis. Although as early as December 1919, France, as the country with the most extensive ties to Turkey's economy, opened negotiations with the Turkish Nationalists in Ankara, hostilities broke out between the Turks and the French in January 1920, and soon Marash was in flames. Unprepared for a siege, the French abandoned the city on February 10, causing widespread death and destruction among the recently-repatriated Armenian population.⁷⁸

At the same time, the Turks attacked the French at Urfa, where the French garrison held out for two months before receiving a safe conduct from the city, but during the exodus in April they were almost totally annihilated from ambush by the

⁷⁷ Walker, *Armenia*, p. 293.

⁷⁸ See K.J. Basmadjian, *La Cilicie: son passé et son avenir* (Paris: J. Gamber, 1919); Walker, *Armenia*, pp. 292-303; Kazanjian, *Ordeal*; Kévorkian, *La Cilicie, passim*.

Turks. In March, the Turks attacked Hajin, where the surviving 8,000 of its previous Armenian population of 25,000 prepared to defend themselves. The heroic defense against overwhelming odds endured for several months before the Armenians were finally overwhelmed and massacred. The Turks initially seized Aintab after a French withdrawal from the city in April 1920, but French reinforcements turned the tide and forced the local Turks to surrender in February 1921. The latter were saved by the French-Kemalist rapprochement and the subsequent signing of a Franco-Turkish accord, whereby the French agreed to evacuate all of Cilicia in return for a handful of not particularly specific economic concessions. Armenian hopes for a homeland in Cilicia were doomed, and almost all of the Armenian population then fled to Syria and Lebanon.⁷⁹

A peculiar problem that remained after the settlement of 1921, however, was the question of the exact disposition of the easternmost district of Cilicia, the former sanjak of Alexandretta (Turkish: Iskenderun), known as the Hatay. This area remained under a separate French mandate administration as part of Syria until 1938, when the French ceded it to Turkey. This led to another migration of local Armenians who followed the French to settle south of the new Turko-Syrian border. Only a few hundred Armenians opted to take their chances under the rule of the Ataturk regime.

Cilicia Today

Since the Turkish government reacquired Cilicia, the old vilayet of Adana, divided into component parts of *ils* (provinces), has experienced increasing trade with the rest of the eastern Mediterranean, and the towns of Adana and Mersin have become wealthy and vibrant cities. The local ruins of ancient theaters, tombs, and forts, and medieval churches and fortifications attract many of the more adventurous tourists. The fourth largest city in Turkey, Adana is an agricultural market for the entire province, with cotton gins and factories for the processing of tobacco, olives, timber, and hides. Its principal tourist sights include the

⁷⁹ Walker, *Armenia*, pp. 292-303; Kazanjian, *Ordeal*; Kévorkian, *La Cilicie*, *passim*.

Roman bridge, the Great Mosque (built in 1507), the St. Paul Roman Catholic Church, and the ethnographic and archaeological museums. A steady stream of trucks now carry vast quantities of imports from the Cilician ports across the Taurus Mountains via the same Cilician Gates that Alexander the Great had once crossed in the opposite direction. American missionaries remain in Tarsus.⁸⁰

Meanwhile, Armenian Cilicia was to some extent reconstituted in Syria and Lebanon. The Catholicosate of the Great House of Cilicia was reestablished at Antelias, a suburb of Beirut, in 1930.⁸¹ The Armenian community in Lebanon had created the basic infrastructure for a viable economic, social, and cultural life, with its churches, schools, newspapers, political parties, numerical strength, and general prosperity. Until the middle of the 1970s, there was still a hope of reviving the Western Armenian cultural renaissance almost totally destroyed during the Genocide, but the civil war of 1975-1990 ruined the community, as large numbers of its best educated, most talented, and wealthiest members migrated elsewhere. The Catholicosate of the Great House of Cilicia remains intact. Its treasures, salvaged during the flight from Cilicia during the Genocide, are now housed in a modern museum and were exhibited in Europe in 2001 in celebration of the 1700th anniversary of the conversion of Armenia to Christianity.

⁸⁰ Personal observation, 1998.

⁸¹ See the chapter on the Catholicosate of Cilicia by Simon Payaslian in this volume.